vice of the aksakals (yakhsy kŭller) (communicated by Kunakbai). 612 When the kinship is more distant, if they do not give livestock they give something cheaper or else food. /115/ An aksakal makes a collection from the people (yurtchilik) for the benefit of the poor, even against people's will. A collection is also taken from the people for influential people, to pay their private debts. (1) Poor people who

1. From the affairs of the Syr-Darya Regional Administration, it is evident that also under Russian domination, collections are made from the population for influential people, with the permission of Russian authorities. Thus, one of the uyezd chiefs presented for the approval of the military governor a judgment of the volost deputies of the Dzhulek volost for the sacrificing of one ruble from each tent to cover the debts of the volost administrator Ayake Bikdzhanov. He received an answer from the military governor that he did not consider it "suitable to approve officially a collection of one ruble from each tent on behalf the volost administrator Bikdzhanov." (Instruction of 17 March, 1876. No. 2727). In 1878 it was permitted to take a voluntary contribution from the Kazakhs of the Dzhulek volost, of an amount not exceeding seven thousand rubles for the payment of the private debts of the same Ayake Bikdzhanov, in view of his exemplary fulfillment of official duties during more than ten years and the extremely poor position of the family remaining after him. (Proposal of the military governor to the chief of the Perovsk uyezd, 21 August, 1878. No 4127).

beg support from their rich relatives and do not receive it, steal from them or borrow what they wish for a time or forever. Prizes for races are divided by the clan of the winner. The seeking of wergeld among kinsmen ends with a wergeld "of kin", i. e., a small wergeld (karyndas khun).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd, assist- 612 ance is asked of relatives, under the name of nemeurin or dzhylulaye- 735 kan, under the following circumstances: 1) when someone is deeply in debt; 2) when someone has been ruined because of a false suit against him; 3) when someone is required to pay a wergeld. (2)

2. He who wishes to turn to the people for general help, invites representatives of the sections of the clan to him,

612
735

feasts them, and then makes a speech to them, in which he tells of his failures, or his straitened circumstances, ending by pointing to their ancient custom, established in times long forgotten, when people like themselves helped each other. The suppliant never fails to bring in the proverb: "If water is taken from a lake with spoons, the water does not decrease. In the same manner a community which shows help does not become poor" (kisyk tap algan minen' kul' tausyk mas bergek mek musaparge il' tausul' mas). To this they reply: "If one man spits, nothing comes of it, but if a whole cummunity spits, a lake is formed" (ber tu kurse ber bular kak tukurse kul' bular). And thus the question is resolved for help to be shown by the general people.

However, help in the payment of debts, as bii Sultan and Khalmakhammed were obliged to admit, is always shown in proportion to the influence (kadryna yarasa) of that person in the community who has become indebted. So that if an uninfluential but good man went in debt for a large sum and turned to his kinsmen, their contribution would cover only a small part of the debt.

/116/ According to Torgai, it is necessary to distinguish dzhilu and yurtchilik. Dzhilu is the forced contributions of friends, kinsmen and relatives, in case of fire, plundering of the village by enemies, the payment of wergeld and hunger. Yurtchilik is putting the debts on the people. In both the dzhilu and the yurtchilik, reciprocity is a condition of this contribution. But in the yurtchilik they are almost forced to pay, under the pretext that in the time of their fathers and grandfathers there were cases of reciprocal yurtchilik, or by threatening to cut off the hems and thus to end the mutual giving of yurtchilik (yurtchilik kylmaska itek kesti kylamyz). Incidentally the hem is not cut off. This is only a metaphor.

The poor person who asks for support says to the rich man: "Give me the grass of your livestock" (malyngnyng shubin ber magan), i. e., remunerate me for my right in common with you for that grass, on which your livestock are grazing. Support, in the form of a collection from the people under the direction of an aksakal, is arranged when all the livestock of the poor man have been slaughtered. Anyone who refuses to contribute loses the right to support in his turn, when a similar disaster happens to him.

This support extends even to the service of mating bulls. If

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the owners of these animals are poor, they demand pay for the loan of the male animals saying: "Give for his strength (sidigin ber). They are given a kerchief or another article, called aktygy, i.e., "for his blamelessness" or else are lent a working animal.

At present, the yurtchilik is already going out of use, this being particularly noticeable in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast.

A very little known custom is that of giving out all the milk or butter of a given village by turns (kezek), one day to one tent, another to another, etc. This depends on common consent and is done by good people in order to support those who have little or no livestock (Perovsk uyezd). In the Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds it is said that this is a custom of poor Sarts who own one or two milk animals apiece /117/ (saun or sauaman). Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, kezek is for the purpose of preparing cheese (kurut and irimshik),(1), where much milk

1. Irimshik is obtained by boiling the milk a long time, with the addition of "mandil" or "zhutkunchak" (neck gristle) from a slaughtered lamb. [234]

is needed at one time. This giving out, based on reciprocity, is equivalent to a sale, satulu.

476

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the custom is known of assistance (khashar) during construction, field work, etc. The person who is invited offers food, but it is not obligatory to appear. Among the Kirgiz there is also a custom of assistance. The help continues no longer than one day, otherwise no one will come. They do not go to poor people, who provide poor feasts.

In the Chimkent uyezd, one who has suffered rustling /baranta/ has the right to demand that his neighboring kinsmen go with him in pursuit of the rustlers. These helpers are called kumek. If a kumek is killed, the person who invited him to join the chase bears no responsibility. (Communicated by bii Sultan Kanaev).

According to Torgai, as soon as a person has work to do which is not within his power, he asks for help (kumek chakyrady, asar kylady, kubdesib kylady), for example, in rustling, in building a memorial over a grave, in field work, even in cleaning a canal if he himself is ill or advanced in years.

For rolling up felts and other woman's work the girls and women call for help (kumek), according to the communication of Aleksandrov from Kazalinsk.

005 a horse, sheep or some other object.

When the farmers are threshing, gathering the grain from 1735 the threshing floor, or measuring it, poor people who do not have their own fields go about to the threshing floors of their clan or community and collect alms, keusen. They are usually given a wooden bowl containing from 2 to 6 pounds of grain, or else one or two handfuls. /Inserted page. Picture of girl from the Perovsk uyezd./ 1

431 /125/ "Bazarlyk" is asked from someone who is riding back from a bazaar.

If a bii concludes a matter successfully, the people who are close ask for "satal" (1) from the biilyk he has received.

1. In general satal is given by everyone who has gained a profit or made a find. (Bii Khalmakhammed).

If a rich man gives his son a small allotment, the latter turns to his sisters, matchmakers and respected outsiders and asks for "inchibasy" (Torgai). They give him something, for example, a ewe, with the wish of increasing his herd. (2)

2. According to the communication of the Kazakh Katpa of the Kurama uyezd, inchibasy is set aside to support the mother in her old age, before the division among the family. According to bii Sultan the word inchibasy denotes in general that cow, good horse or other good animal which is selected (tanglab alady) by the persons receiving their allotment, or by their father or mother, as the "beginning" (bas) of their allotment.

If the father has arranged the betrothal (ayttyrsa) of a bride for his son, the latter asks a man of the same age for a congratulatory gift called "nemeurin." This one gives him something, thereby gaining the right to demand a similar gift when he is in a similar position (Torgai). According to bii Sultan, the nemeurin is customary both during the allotment and during the kalym. In the first case the kinsmen give sacks, lassos, utensils and livestock, and in the second case only livestock or money.

A person who has bought something new is greeted with the words: kutty bulsyn, i. e., to your happiness! The owner of the object expresses his thanks by saying: aytsyn, or kuttuktamak sizden bulsyn. In the first case they demand a gift of "baygazy" from him,

1 [Not reproduced --AJ]

671 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

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The support of the poor.

• 735 The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i.e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold, 732 take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

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Clergy and schools.

346 There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

793 The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-